

SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN EXILES IN ENGLAND, 1584-8¹

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THE English presbyterian movement, which, in Fuller's words, had Thomas Cartwright for its "head" and Walter Travers for its "neck," was from the outset very closely associated with the parallel movement led by Andrew Melville in Scotland. Melville and Cartwright had been in Geneva together in 1571-2,² and in 1575, after Travers had published a complete exposition of the presbyterian programme in his *Explicatio ecclesiasticae disciplinae*, Melville presented a copy to Alexander Arbuthnot, principal of King's College, Aberdeen.³ That Melville continued to follow with interest the fortunes of the English presbyterian movement may be inferred from the invitation to Cartwright and Travers, in 1580, to chairs at St. Andrews University. The reorganisation of that university, ratified by parliament in November 1579, was aimed at the erection of "a college of divinity for the profession of learned tongues and theology against the seminaries of Rheims and Rome," and the man chosen to be principal was Andrew Melville, principal of the college at Glasgow. The official invitation to the Englishmen (from the king and the general assembly) was reinforced by a letter from the chancellor, rector, dean and principal of Glasgow, written in October 1580, and also by a personal appeal from Melville in the following March, but Cartwright and Travers did not accept.⁴

Meantime some important links between the two presbyterian parties had been forged at a different level. John Davidson, a young regent at St. Andrews, who had been cited to appear before the council for an attack on the Regent Morton's policy, took refuge in England early in

¹ Throughout this article, quotations are, with a few exceptions, given in modernised spelling. The documents calendared in the Calendars of State Papers (Scottish, Domestic and Foreign) have been examined in the originals, but it has not been thought necessary to give references to the MS. volumes in the Public Record Office and the British Museum.

² Charles Borgeaud, *L'academie de Calvin 1559-1798*, 107-10, 113, 119, 316, and 'Cartwright and Melville at the university of Geneva, 1569-74', in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, v, 284-90; James Melville, *Diary* (Wodrow Soc.), 41; A. F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 47, 48, 53.

³ Pearson, *op. cit.*, 142.

⁴ Fuller, *Church-history*, IX, vii, 52; Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow MSS., fol. vol. 42, No. 3; McCrie, *Andrew Melville*, App. xi.

1575,¹ and became known to the circle of public officials with puritan sympathies which included Francis Walsingham and William Davison. Davison, then English agent at Antwerp, was concerned in 1577 with the appointment of a chaplain for the English Merchant Adventurers there, and informed Laurence Tomson, Walsingham's secretary, of the proposal. Tomson replied that he would try to secure William Charke, a noted puritan, and added: "I know of another honest Scottish man of your own name, who I think will be very fit for you." The man appointed, however, was Walter Travers.² John Davidson made the acquaintance of other puritans besides the Walsingham-Davison group. He had many conversations with John Field, who acted as a kind of organising secretary to the English puritan party, and the two agreed on the general principle that "it is no small comfort to brethren of one nation to understand the state of the brethren in other nations." He also associated with John Stubbs (brother-in-law of Cartwright), William Charke, the other rejected candidate for the Antwerp chaplaincy, and "many good brethren and sisters."³ Davidson seems to have remained in England until 1579, when he achieved notoriety which resulted in his expulsion from that country: "One Davison, a Scottishman, in his common preachings and lectures hath uttered certain lewd and disordered speeches to her majesty's discontentation." As the power of Morton was declining, the preacher seems now to have found it safe to return to Scotland.⁴

The contact which Davidson had made with Field lay behind an attempt made by the general assembly, in 1583, to intervene on behalf of the English presbyterians. In Scotland, the Melvillian party was in favour after the Ruthven Raid had brought into office a faction of ultra-protestants in August 1582. Before the end of the year, some ministers contemplated making a motion at the next general assembly that the government should be petitioned to join in an appeal to Elizabeth "touching the reformation of some abuses" in the Church of England "and especially that sincere men may have liberty to preach without deposing by the tyranny of the bishops." On 1 January 1582/3 John Davidson wrote to Field asking him to consult the English brethren and report whether they thought the proposed petition expedient. Field reported that the English would be grateful to the Scots if they would be

¹ *Reg. Privy Co.*, ii, 716; Hume of Godscroft, *History of the house of Angus and Douglas*, ii, 242; Calderwood, *History*, v, 339, viii, 200-1; *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, iv, Nos. 783, 788.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom Addenda* 1566-79, pp. 442, 528-9, 532; *Cal. S.P. For.* 1577-8, No. 516.

³ *Nat. Lib. Scot. MS.* 6.1.13, fo. 42.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, xi, 289; cf. *B. U. K.*, i, 388. There is no evidence that Davidson was in Scotland between 1575 and 1579.

so mindful of the interests of the English presbyterians. When the general assembly next met, in April 1583, three ministers were appointed to convey to the king the assembly's wish that he would make it part of the mission of his ambassador to England to ask Elizabeth to "disburden their brethren of England of the yoke of ceremonies imposed upon them against the liberty of the Word." James made a gracious reply, but nothing seems to have been done.¹

The Scottish presbyterians, who during their brief triumph had thus volunteered assistance to their English brethren, were soon in their turn seeking help. The king's escape from the Ruthven Raiders in June 1583 prepared the way for what has been called the "anti-presbyterian dictatorship" of James Stewart, earl of Arran, an administration which in May 1584 passed the "Black Acts," reaffirming episcopal authority and subjecting the church to crown and parliament. The irreconcilables among the ministers had in effect to choose between imprisonment and exile. Their leader, Andrew Melville, had come into collision with the government even before its policy culminated in the "Black Acts." Charged with uttering seditious speeches in the pulpit, he was ordered to enter into ward in Blackness Castle on 17 February 1583/4, and fled the same day to Berwick.² In May and June he was followed by about a score of his disciples. Some of them were ministers of note, like James Lawson, Walter Balcanquhal and Robert Pont from Edinburgh, James Carmichael (Haddington), Patrick Galloway (Perth) and James Melville, the diarist, Andrew's nephew; other ministers in the party were James Gibson (Pencaitland), David Hume (Coldingham), Andrew Hunter (Carnbie), Andrew Polwarth (Cadder), Thomas Story (Chirnside), Andrew Hay (Renfrew), a James Hamilton and a "Mr. Strachan" who are hard to identify, and also John Davidson, who was no stranger to England; there were in addition half-a-dozen younger men who were later to hold appointments in the Scottish church—William Aird, John Caldcleuch, John Cowper, Alexander Forsyth, Archibald Moncreiff and James Robertson.

Melville, so far from choosing England as anything more than a temporary refuge, had thought at first of resuming his academic life on the continent.³ England was not an obvious haven for presbyterians, as Archbishop Adamson of St. Andrews reminded them: the English queen was "a rare auditrix of preaching" and her clergy were "burdened with sundry ceremonies and injunctions."⁴ The refugees, however, more

¹ Nat. Lib. Scot. MS. 6.1.13, fo. 42; *B. U. K.*, ii, 613-4.

² Warrender Papers (Register House), Vol. B, fo. 62; Spottiswoode, *History*, ii, 309; Calderwood, *Vindiciae*, 52; *Reg. Privy Co.*, iii, 631-2.

³ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 31.

⁴ Calderwood, iv, 90.

favourably disposed to the English sovereign than to their own, thought of Elizabeth (despite her "injunctions") as "a notable instrument of God for the advancement of religion" and of her kingdom as "a receptacle for the troubled and persecuted saints of God." At the worst they would be able to live in retirement: "we may quietly and in peace await upon our books"; but they hoped also to "travail in our vocation as it should please the Lord to give occasion," in a country where they could make themselves understood in their native tongue.¹ Why could not they, like English puritan "lecturers," evade the vestiarian and liturgical requirements imposed on the beneficed clergy, and "exercise themselves in the Lord's work safe and free from the impurity and pollution of the Romish and superstitious ceremonies"?² They were conscious, too, of the parallel between their own situation and that of the English puritans, for "the most learned and faithful pastors in both the kingdoms are forced either wholly to keep silence and leave the ministry, or then by flight and exile to save their lives, or else to essay the filthy weariness of stinking prisons."³ In short, the Scots, feeling that they had a common cause with the English puritans, expected a welcome from their allies and looked forward to "consultation with learned men, zealous brethren and whoever has defended the Lord's cause."⁴

Preparation for their reception in England came, however, not from churchmen but from those puritan politicians, Walsingham and Davison, by whom, as respectively secretary of state and ambassador to Edinburgh, Anglo-Scottish relations were conducted at that time. Walsingham and Davison had to use a certain discretion within England itself, but elsewhere they gave free rein to their puritan sympathies. It was on Davison's initiative that an "honest, learned and godly man" had been sought for the Antwerp chaplaincy, and not only was it clear from the names suggested that only puritans were qualified, but the intention was to supersede the Prayer Book by services on the Genevan model, a project which Walsingham discussed with Travers.⁵ Davison had made the acquaintance of Scottish presbyterians through John Davidson, and Walsingham was the patron and friend of Thomas Smeton, who was first a colleague of Andrew Melville at Glasgow and then his successor as

¹ Warrender Papers, Vol. B, fo. 29; Harleian MSS. 291, fo. 124; Calderwood, iv, 138-9.

² Warrender Papers, Vol. B, fo. 44.

³ J. Melville, *Diary*, 157, 164, cf. 160. Warrender Papers, Vol. B, fo. 44, shows how an epistle of Beza to the brethren of England was cited with reference to the situation of the Scots under the 'Black Acts'.

⁴ Warrender Papers, Vol. B, fo. 29.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. For.*, 1577-8, No. 852; cf. Read, *Walsingham*, ii, 264-5, and *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 35, n. 7.

principal there. Both Walsingham and Davison were acquainted with James Lawson, the Edinburgh minister, before he appeared in England as a refugee.¹ Their ecclesiastical sympathies strongly influenced the attitude of those politicians to Scottish affairs, and made them the supporters of the Scottish presbyterian party whether that party was in or out of favour in Scotland.

The fall of the Ruthven Raiders had so alarmed the English government that Walsingham himself had been sent on a mission to Scotland in September 1583, and in the following April, when the Ruthven faction was preparing an attempt to regain power, William Davison was sent to Berwick to be ready to support them. The attempt failed, and Davison, compelled to lie at Berwick and observe the triumph of Arran, was in despondency over the rout of the Scottish presbyterians.² In his letters to Walsingham he made no secret of his admiration for the Scottish "discipline," his disapproval of the "Black Acts," his detestation of the Scottish bishops and his sympathy with "the best and most godly learned ministers," who were now threatened with imprisonment or banishment.³ Other Englishmen might show a proper detachment and consider the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Scottish government to be a purely domestic matter,⁴ but Davison wrote as a puritan viewing with dismay the failure of the first Scottish presbyterian experiment.

As Davison did not leave Berwick for Edinburgh until 1 June,⁵ he was able to meet not only Andrew Melville, who had been in Berwick since March, but several other ministers who arrived there in May—Galloway, Carmichael, Lawson and Balcanquhal, among others. Davison made it clear to the exiles that his diplomatic mission to Scotland was in the interests of their party, and by befriending Lawson and Balcanquhal on their arrival and arranging that his son, Francis, should receive tuition in Greek from Andrew Melville, he contributed to the hospitable reception of the Scots.⁶ If it would not be quite true to say that something like a conspiracy took shape, it does seem clear that plans were made which helped to determine the subsequent movements⁷ of the Scots in England.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vi, 371-2, 635-6; vii, 54.

² *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 138.

³ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, Nos. 146, 149, 167.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 148.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 166.

⁶ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, Nos. 146, 195, 208.

⁷ These movements are calculated partly from James Melville's account of his own flight to Berwick, which must have taken place about 11th or 12th June (*Diary*, 167, 168, 170).

Andrew Melville took the road to the south about 10 June, perhaps accompanied by Galloway and Carmichael, and on the 20th those three had an interview in London with Walsingham, who gave them the news of Scottish affairs contained in a despatch which Davison had written in Edinburgh five days earlier.¹ Carmichael had another interview with Walsingham on 2 July, and on the 19th Lawson and Balcanquhal (who had arrived in London about 21 June) were received, along with Melville and Carmichael, by the secretary, who again retailed the latest news from Scotland.² Meantime Melville had begun to tutor Francis Davison, who, as Carmichael reported to the boy's father, gave "good proof of his profit in the Greek to Mr. Melville upon the first chapter of Mark."³

While the exiles had thus made it their first business to establish close relations with Walsingham, they lost little time in seeking out their more purely ecclesiastical allies. Before Lawson and Balcanquhal had been in London a fortnight, they had "talked with the godly and zealous brethren,"⁴ and some time in July—probably between the 4th and the 19th—Andrew Melville, Lawson and some other Scots visited Oxford and Cambridge and "conferred with the most godly and learned" there.⁵ At Oxford they took part in a conference attended by Edward Gellibrand (the leading puritan in Oxford), Thomas Wilcox and many other English presbyterians, including, no doubt, John Field. One of the matters discussed was a critical one—"the proceeding of the minister in his duty, without the assistance or tarrying for the magistrate."⁶ This was a subject which had been much in the mind of English puritans in recent months, and on 1 June the question had already been raised "whether a minister might cease preaching being forbidden by the magistrate."⁷ The Scots, who were in England for no other reason than because they had defied their own magistrates, must have given stimulating advice.

After their visit to the universities, the Scots returned to London. Some of them lodged in Honey Lane, Cheapside, with one Anthony Martin—possibly the Anthony Martin who signed a petition on behalf of the presbyterian minister Thomas Barber, who was the preacher at St. Mary le

¹ *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 413; Calderwood, viii, 260-1; *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 171. The date is given variously as 19th and 21st June, but it was a Saturday, and the Saturday was the 20th.

² Calderwood, viii, 267-8; *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 414.

³ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 208.

⁴ Calderwood, vii, 261; *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 195.

⁵ Melville, *Diary*, 219.

⁶ Richard Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, 73-4.

⁷ R. G. Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement in the reign of Elizabeth* (Camden Soc.), 36

Bow, on the other side of Cheapside from Honey Lane,¹ and who was, as we shall see, associated with the Scottish exiles. It was at the church of Allhallows in Honey Lane itself that Thomas Wilcox had been lecturer before his imprisonment in 1572,² and it may be that the meeting of the Scots with Wilcox at Oxford explains the ease with which they made friends in that part of London.

About the end of 1584 and the beginning of 1585 there was considerable activity among the puritans, including two general conferences in London, one in November (at which a special effort was made to secure a good attendance) and one in February.³ That the Scottish ministers took part may be deduced from their association with Field. Gellibrand had urged that Field should follow up the Oxford conversations with further discussion with the Scots about "tarrying for the magistrate," and on 4 March 1584/5 Field admitted that "there is some meeting of his fellow ministers at his house, as Mr. Barber with others, touching conference in learning, three or four," and that "he hath resorted to the Scottish ministers, being three of them, and sometimes they come to his house."⁴ The three Scots who thus took part in discussions with Field and Barber were presumably Andrew Melville, Balcanquhal and John Davidson.

One of the general conferences at which the Scottish ministers were present was the occasion of a number of resolutions which were, in Fuller's words, "the embryo of the presbyterian discipline, lying yet, as it were, in the womb of episcopacy."⁵ It was decided that no one should accept ordination until he had been "called" by a particular congregation and his "call" had been approved by a *classis*. Provision was made for the election of elders and deacons, and for the convocation of classical, provincial and national assemblies. The assistance of the Scots at a very important stage of the evolution of a "discipline in a discipline, presbytery in episcopacy," was rewarded by a resolution of the general conference that collections should be made for their financial relief.⁶

¹ Wodrow Soc. Misc., i, 437, 451; *Seconde Parte of a Register* (ed. Albert Peel), ii, 220, 262.

² D. N. B. on Wilcox; *John Stow's Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908), i, 271.

³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 74-5; Usher, *op. cit.*, 40, 42.

⁴ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 74, *Survey of the pretended holy discipline*, 395; *Seconde parte of a register*, i, 283-4.

⁵ Fuller, *op. cit.*, IX, v, 1.

⁶ Bancroft, *Daungerous positions*, pp. '45-8' (*sic*, *rectius* 69-72). Bancroft dates this conference 'about 1583' and was uncertain whether it took place at Cambridge or at London. It seems most reasonable to identify it with one of the London conferences of the winter of 1584-5, when so many Scots were in touch with English presbyterians. R. W. Dale, *A History of English Congregationalism*, 152, and Wood, *History of the University of Oxford*, ii, 224-5, however, assign this conference to Oxford, presumably identifying it with the general conference of July 1584 (at which some Scots had been present).

The event which revealed most fully the close connection between the Scottish ministers and the London puritans was the funeral of James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, who died at Anthony Martin's house in Honey Lane on 12 October 1584; his funeral, on the following day, was the occasion of a gathering of English and Scottish presbyterians not only more impressive than any other recorded in the sixteenth century, but in a sense more representative than even the Westminster assembly. The Scottish exiles were represented by their leaders Andrew Melville, James Carmichael, John Davidson and Walter Balcanquhal, and by three young men from St. Andrews university who later became ministers in Scotland—John Cowper, Archibald Moncrieff and Alexander Forsyth. An Anglo-Scottish element was present in the persons of one Guthrie, a Scot who kept a school at Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, and who was related to Lawson's wife; John Morrison, formerly a minister in East Lothian, and now curate of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate; and William Lynne, a Glasgow graduate whom Thomas Smeton had sent to England and who later became a student and a fellow at Cambridge. The English puritans were represented by the well-known Walter Travers, now preacher at the Temple; John Field, the party organiser; William Charke, preacher at Lincoln's Inn; Gardener from Whitechapel; Dr. Crook of Gray's Inn; Barber of St. Mary-le-bow; Stephen Egerton of St. Anne's in Blackfriars; Edmonds of Allhallows in Bread Street; "Hundsone" or "Indsonn" of St. Peter's in Cheapside; and Lever Wood, recently deprived for non-conformity. The high master of St. Paul's school (John Harrison) was there, and the three ministers of the French church in London. Among names difficult of identification, but possibly significant, are those of "Mr. Bacon, gentleman," "Mr. Bodley," and "secretary Walsingham's gentleman." The total number present was over five hundred, at a time when the average attendance at a London funeral—so at least the Scots believed—was seldom one hundred; there were many women who had been "careful mothers and sisters" to the deceased, including an alderman's wife who had bestowed twenty grains of unicorn's horn on him.¹ The list of English puritans present at the funeral gives a clue to the personnel of the general conferences held at London in that same winter, when to the leading London puritans there were of course added a number from other parts of the country.

The Scottish community in London was so numerous by this time that it was suggested that it should have its own church, on the analogy of the

¹ The account of the funeral is in Calderwood's larger MS. history (British Museum, Additional MSS. 4736, f. 166 verso); it is printed in Wodrow Soc., *Miscellany* I, 452, and in Wodrow's *Biographical collections* (New Spalding club), p. 231, but neither printed version is wholly satisfactory. The English preachers can be identified from *The seconde parte of a register* II, 180 et seq., 262.

French, Italian and Dutch churches, and Lawson tried to enlist Walsingham's support for the project, but the council decided that it would be dangerous to countenance a form of service in the English language differing from that of the Church of England, and therefore refused the Scots a "peculiar church."¹ The Scottish government, too, after an attempt at conciliation,² began to reflect that the "air" of England was "contagious" for presbyterians,³ and instructed its ambassadors to urge the English government to deal firmly with the exiles.⁴ In the autumn of 1584, however, possibly because their English friends made their pulpits available, the Scottish ministers were preaching in London. Balcanquhal preached once or twice before Lawson's death on 7 October, and continued to preach regularly until the following January. John Davidson preached twelve or thirteen sermons in St. Olave's, Old Jewry, on Sundays and holy days, beginning on 8 November 1584. He "so railed against the king of Scots in the pulpit" that he was known at court and among the bishops as a "thunderer."⁵ The master of Gray, who had come as ambassador from Scotland in October 1584, complained to the queen, trying to play on her dislike of rebellious subjects: "I beseech your majesty for the weal of your own estate either to remove furth of England the fugitive ministers or then to ordain some limits to them for avoiding practising within your country, for . . . their democratical designs be enemy to all princes."⁶ On 5 January 1584/5 both Balcanquhal and Davidson were summoned before the bishop of London. Balcanquhal obeyed the summons, and the bishop explained that a command to cease preaching had been issued on the council's initiative. Balcanquhal's congregation thereupon petitioned the council in his favour, but without effect. But the Scots were not easily silenced. The lieutenant of the Tower, who was friendly to the ministers, allowed some of them to preach and to form a congregation in his church, which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and Andrew Melville's lectures there were much frequented.⁷

The contacts between Scottish exiles and English puritans were not confined to London and the university towns. The earls of Angus and Mar

¹ Hume of Godscroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 361; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 418.

² Calderwood, iv, 124-5; *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 165; B. M. Harleian MSS., 291, fo. 123.

³ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 339, 542; Calderwood, iv, 352. The first attempt to influence the English government against the ministers had been made by Archbishop Adamson in June 1584 (G. Donaldson, 'The attitude of Whitgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church', in *Royal Hist Soc. Trans.*, 4th ser., xxiv, 103).

⁵ *Wodrow Soc., Misc.*, i, 428-9; Calderwood, iv, 247; Peter Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, 268; Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, 26.

⁶ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, 508.

⁷ Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, 26; Hume of Godscroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 361.

and the master of Glamis had fled from Scotland after the failure of their attempt to overthrow Arran in April 1584. They remained in the north of England until February 1584/5 and then, after a month in Norwich, settled in London.¹ At Newcastle a congregation on the strictest Genevan model was ministered to by John Davidson (in June and July 1584), Patrick Galloway and James Melville,² and in London Andrew and James Melville acted together as chaplains to the nobles.³ Not only did the earl of Angus have direct communication with "brethren of the Church of England,"⁴ but there is some evidence that the religious exercises of the noblemen made a favourable impression on English puritans: the *Catechism* which Galloway compiled for the use of the lords was subsequently published in England,⁵ and an Englishman, Miles Moss, who ministered to them during the month they spent at Norwich, retained happy recollections of their piety.⁶

Another indication of the wide ramifications of Anglo-Scottish contacts is found in the career of John Cowper. He had a connection with England before he went there in 1584, for his brother William, after graduating at St. Andrews in 1583, had become a teacher in Guthrie's school at Hoddesdon. John was in London in June 1584 and at the time of Lawson's funeral, but shortly afterwards he went to Cornwall and spent about a year there. He took part in the meetings of the "exercise" of Saltash, and evidently acted as a kind of chaplain to one of its most prominent lay members, Anthony Rouse, who was an associate of Drake and Grenville and later became step-father of John Pym. In December 1585, when it became safe for presbyterians to return to Scotland, Cowper left Cornwall, and, equipped with testimonials from the exercise of Saltash and from Rouse and his first wife, Elizabeth, as well as a passport from Walsingham, went back home, where he soon became a minister in Edinburgh. His brother William joined him there, and became a minister also.⁷

Whatever the activities of the Scottish exiles, and however much they came into conflict with English ecclesiastical authorities, Walsingham thought that they could do no wrong. At an early stage he had commented

¹ J. Melville, *Diary*, 165-6, 171-2, 221-2.

² J. Melville, *Diary*, 171-2, 181-4; *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 414, 424, 429.

³ J. Melville, *Diary*, 221-2.

⁴ Hume of Godscroft, *op. cit.*, ii, 377.

⁵ Arber, *Transcripts*, ii, 235.

⁶ Miles Mosse, *Scotland's Welcome* (1603), 64-5. The dedication of this book is to John, Earl of Mar, and recalls the association of the author with the Scots nobles.

⁷ *Fasti Eccl. Scot.*, i, 53, iii, 460, vii, 345; Calderwood, viii, 261; *Warrender Papers* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i, 171, 203-6; S. Reed Brett, *John Pym*, p. xix; A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 43, 205.

on the "cold comfort" they were likely to receive in England and the fact that they found "fewer favourers" than he thought they deserved. His outlook being determined by his own ecclesiastical preferences, he closed his mind to the possibility that a Scottish administration opposed to presbyterianism could maintain Anglo-Scottish friendship, and persisted in advocating that "policy" as well as "Christianity" required English countenance to the presbyterians, who had been "good instruments for the entertaining of the amity." He once remarked bitterly to Davison that the treatment of the exiles accorded with "the course they now hold here in displacing and depriving the best affected ministers. I look for no better fruits from them that use religion for policy and many times abuse it for faction."¹ After the first interviews of the ministers with Walsingham in June and July 1584, Carmichael undertook to prepare a statement of the case for the exiles, a task in which he was assisted by English politicians and puritan officials.² Davison in particular acted as an agent for Carmichael in the collection of materials for the projected *apologia*—the acts of the parliament of May 1584, the second Book of Discipline, the acts of the general assemblies, Knox's History of the Reformation, the first part of Hume of Godscroft's History, and the bishops' injunctions³—and was thanked by Carmichael for his "great fidelity and lawful diligence in the common cause."⁴

Arran's government came to an end when the exiled lords returned to Scotland and effected a *coup d'état* at Stirling on 2 November 1585. Andrew Melville, with Balcanquhal and Galloway, went north with the noblemen, and on 6 November these three ministers wrote to the ministers still in England—Carmichael, Davidson, James Melville and "the rest of the Scottish preachers"—asking them to return.⁵ Carmichael communicated this letter to the others (except Andrew Hunter, who had already left for Scotland) and summoned Thomas Story and John Cowper, who were not in London, to come to the capital in order to arrange for their departure.⁶ James Melville soon proceeded to Scotland, being in Linlithgow by 27 December,⁷ and most of his fellows appear to have returned home about the same time.⁸

¹ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, Nos. 161, 175, 241; cf. Camden, *Annales* (1717), ii, 409, 420 and Heylin, *op. cit.*, 268.

² *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 413-4; Calderwood, viii, 260-2.

³ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, Nos. 195, 208; *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 415. In S.P. Scot. Eliz. xxix are two copies of the second Book of Discipline, accompanied by copies of acts of general assemblies; each is endorsed 'Mr. James Carmichael's book'.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. Scot.*, vii, No. 267.

⁵ *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 437.

⁶ Register House, State Papers, 102A

⁷ Harleian MSS., 291, fos. 188-9.

⁸ Cf. *Extracts from records of burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-89*, 455.

Carmichael, however, had apparently arranged with the earl of Angus to remain in England "for advancing of the cause among the brethren here and through this and other countries," and in a letter dated from London on 20 November he told the earl that he intended to "tarry," in view of "the necessity that the cause presently craves among the good brethren of this country." It seems that he was still collecting material to discredit the Scottish king and the late government, for he urged that the ecclesiastical and civil records of Scotland should be searched and that "diligent inquisition" should be made for secret letters which had passed between Mary and her son or any of his subjects, hinting that "Bothwell's casket served for good uses; there wants not caskets yet."¹ Little is known of Carmichael's subsequent movements, but letters were directed to him at London on 2 and 16 January 1585/6 and he was in England on 4 March and 9 May 1586.² There seems no reason to doubt that he continued to live in England for about two years after the return of the majority of the exiles, and we know that the epistle dedicatory of his *Grammaticae Latinae, de etymologia, liber secundus*, was dated at Cambridge in September 1587.

The other Scot who did not return with the main body of the exiles was John Davidson. During what was his second exile in England he renewed the friendship with John Stubbs which he had formed earlier, and possibly collaborated with him in preparing a refutation of the English Roman catholic leader, Cardinal Allen. Davidson was certainly commissioned by his fellow exiles to reply to the *Defence of the English catholiques* (1584), in which Allen condemned as seditious the Scottish ministers generally, and especially those who had fled to England.³ There is no evidence that Davidson returned to Scotland before 1588, when (in November) he refused to resume his former charge at Liberton.⁴ In the absence of other evidence of his whereabouts, there is some ground for identifying Davidson with a Scottish preacher of that name who was notorious for his activities in England in 1587 and 1588. Whether Davidson had ever ceased preaching may be doubted, for it is not even certain that he obeyed the summons to Fulham in January 1584/5, and he probably had opportunities for preaching in the Tower in 1585. In August 1587, the activities in London pulpits of Davidson, Thomas Barber (who has already appeared as an associate of the Scots), Giles Wiggington (whom we shall see linked with Davidson on another occasion), and some other preachers, led to an order from the Court of High Commission that no

¹ Register House, State Papers, 102A.

² *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, i, 438, 440 and n; Additional MSS. 32,092, fo. 80 verso; Reg. Ho., Morton Papers, Letters, 9th May, 1586.

³ *D. N. B.* on Stubbs; Calderwood, iv, 38; Allen, *Defence of the English catholiques*, 79, 83, 122, 137 (where several of the ministers exiled in England are named). Stubbs associated with James Carmichael also (H.M.C., *Ancaster MSS.*, 16).

⁴ *Fasti* i, 170.

one in charge of a church in the City should allow any of the ministers named to preach or read lectures, unless a licence from the queen, a university, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London, could be produced. Besides the written order, an oral message was sent that Davidson, Wiggington, and another should not preach again in any case.¹ It is conceivable that even this prohibition did not bring John Davidson's preaching to an end, for he may have been the "Daverson, a Scot," who delivered a sermon in London on 29th June 1588:

"Touching [blank] Daverson a Skott, who preached at Aldermanbury church on St. Peters day in the forenoone, 29° Junii 1588.

"The Manne. he preached with a kerchief on his head, a velvett nightcap upon that, and a felt hat on that: and praied a long praier with all on: in the end, putt off his hat, and laid it by, saieing: Lett us sing a psalme to the praise of god.

"The Matter. he said: There was now a great plague at hande, becawse there is no Love at all in yow toward the gosple. It is a fowle falt that there is no generall fast proclaimed, for the reformation of things. It is no mervail things be amys, for the gosple rules not the Queene, rules not the Counsaill, rules not the clergy, rules not the citizens. The doctors of the universities dare not speak the truth, becawse the spiritt of God is not in them. He said, he was infourmed, that divers of that parishe, were hinderers of the gosple."

The "matter" of this sermon agrees with our knowledge of the substance of Davidson's sermons in London in 1584-5, when he had warned the people of "a great visitation and affliction approaching the Church of England."² It was not only by preaching that Davidson attained notoriety. In 1588 Waldegrave published *A Short Christian Institution made first for the use of a private family, and now communicate by the Author to other flocks and families*, written by "J.D." Some delay in the licensing of the book was known to the author of Martin Marprelate's *Epistle*, and in the course of an attack on the bishops, he wrote:³

"They are afraid that anything should be published aboard/ whereby the common people should learne that the onely way to saluation/ is by the word preached. There was the last sommer a little catechisme/ made by M. Dauison and printed by Walde-graue: but before he could print it/ it must be authorized by the Bb. either Cante. or London/ he went to Cant. to haue it licensed/ his

¹ *Seconde parte of a register* II, 231-2.

² Additional MSS. 32,092, f. 100 (endorsed: "Tuching Daverson a Skott. Buttolfes by Cripelgate"); *Wodrow Soc. Misc.*, I, 429.

³ *Epistle* (1588), p. 34; ed. Petheram (1842), p. 43.

grace committed it to doctor Neuerbegood (Wood) he read it ouer in halfe a yeare/ the booke is a great one of two sheets of paper. In one place of the booke the meanes of saluation was attributed to the worde preached : and what did he thinke you : he blotted out the word (preached) and would not haue that word printed/ so ascribing the way to work mens saluation to the worde read."

Cooper noticed this accusation when he replied to Martin in his *Admonition to the People of England*, and gave, in passing, his opinion of Davidson : "How Dauisons Catechisme was allowed, or how long in perusing, I knowv not : some paultry pamphlet it is, like to that busie and vnlearned Scot, now termed to be the author thereof. D. Wood is better able to iudge of such matters, than either Dauison, or any Martinist, that dare be knowven."¹ In *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, Martin retorted that although Cooper abused Davidson and Wiggington, their "good names can take no stain from a bishops chopps." Davidson's name appears with those of Wiggington and other puritans elsewhere in the same work : "I see heere that they haue quarrelled with thee Walter Trauerse, Iohn Penri, Thomas Sparke, Giles Wiggington, Master Dauison, &c."²

The whole history of the exiles represents a curious anticipation of the alliance which in the next century was to produce the Solemn League and Covenant. The importance of the episode at the time was threefold. Contact with these Scottish ministers, embittered against their own king and the regime which he maintained, and profoundly suspicious of the influence of Mary and her agents, was an element in shaping the attitude of Walsingham and Davison to Scottish affairs and to Mary herself. Secondly, the Scots, who before their exile had been engaged in developing their presbyterian system in defiance of statute law and in the main without official countenance, may well have had a stimulating effect on their English brethren, who at this stage decided to depart from their timid policy of "tarrying for the magistrate" and to proceed with the development of "a discipline in a discipline, presbytery in episcopacy." Finally, John Davidson, who was all along something of a firebrand and who became so engrossed in activities in England that he was in no haste to return home, introduced an interest in Scotland to some of the more extreme elements in English puritanism—an interest which led the pamphleteer Penry and the printer Waldegrave to seek refuge in Scotland in 1589 and make it a base of the production of puritan literature. While the influence of the Scots may thus have been diverse, the personal contacts had been so close and so numerous that they had ample opportunity to exert that influence.

¹ Cooper, *Admonition* (1589), p. 49.

² *Hay any worke for Cooper* (ed. Petheram), pp. 61, 69.